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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister Uka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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621 592 dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in 154 the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By 584 Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of 595 approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. 586 Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young 364 man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the 191 gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin 595 English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin English. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

136 Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year 334 or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who 364 has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has 727 also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one 595 son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

56 Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household 754 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and 736 Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his 584 nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

105 About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who 154 is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18 1]

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621 592 [591] a niece of Wof.[22] Mes has started to build a house for himself and Yimba near that of his father. There are no other members of Waramus' line dwelling at Rumbima.

[36] A short way down the mountainside from Marok's house is the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a [156] quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He is married to a woman named Gufo and they have two boys, Angandim, a young child, and Angemar, an infant. Kwal's older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lives in the adjacent house with his strapping wife Huwena, and two girl [613] children, Kayamaka and Yawaka. These two families comprise the second line of the Wasahof lineage.

Two brothers head the third and final line of the lineage of Wasahof. They live together a little farther down the [156] path which passes by the last two households described. Fokotay (household 10, family line 6), the elder, is a jovial but rather ineffectual man of forty. He is married to Ngwiya, and has only one child, a little girl called Hambo. Afok (household 9, family line 6), a few years younger than Fokotay, has a keen sense of humor and is somewhat more [191] forceful than his older brother. Except for those who have worked for Europeans, Afok is the only adult who has made any attempt to learn pidgin. Although he has learned only a little, he seems to get considerable pleasure from the attempt. He lives with his wife Kumwe and their infant son Kawaf. Yawa, Mar's betrothed (household 3), is also a descendant of this line, her deceased father being a brother of Fokotay and Afok.

621 613 The Wasahof lineage thus numbers only fifteen living persons.[23] Six wives swell the group to twenty-one. The Mangwiyow lineage has thirty members and thirteen wives. This makes a total of sixty-four persons living in Rumbima ham- [124] let. Persons from the other five hamlets were interviewed primarily to check information gathered at Rumbima. The Mangwiyow lineage provided more material than did the Wasahof lineage, both because it was larger and because we

[22] A theoretically incestuous marriage.

[23] This does not include the women who have married and left the hamlet.

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882 advantage of the age-grade and cult initiations is that each
602 gives him a defined status superior to those of his *brothers*
561 who have not as yet undergone them. Whereas during child-
554 hood a command-obey relationship had to be fought out, and
[794] was usually established on the basis of size and age, now the relationship is culturally determined. An initiated boy has the privilege of derogating all those who are not yet initiated, and he loses no opportunity to do so. Gwiyap, Mey, and Ham were all old enough to be eligible for entry into the age-grade cycle when one of the quinquennial ceremonies took place just before my arrival. The adults told them that they could be initiated if they wished; it was up to them. Gwiyap was willing to undergo having his tongue and penis cut and the other hardships of initiation, whereas neither Mey nor Ham dared do so.[27] Gwiyap, after he had undergone the initiation, did not allow them to forget their cowardice. He frequently referred to them as "children," with the implication that he was in a lofty social position which towered above that of a mere child.

882 On reaching adolescence a boy gives up trying to gain
602 superiority over his adolescent *brothers* by fighting with
554 them in physical combat. For the most part his relative posi-
156 tion has already been established by such means during
865 childhood and by the precedents established by temporal priority in the various initiations. Relative changes in status or circumstantial reversals of position are gained by verbal aggression or by efficiency in the various arts which are culturally defined as giving prestige. A boy can gain a superior position over a hitherto dominant *brother* by becoming a better hunter, a more persistent gardener, or being more adept at gong beating, flute playing, or singing in the cult ceremonies.

Such a struggle for dominance was occurring between Mar and Gwiyap. Mar was older and larger than Gwiyap, and had evidently established dominance during childhood by virtue of his greater physical size. He had also undergone

[27] Gwiyap was physiologically pubescent; Mey and Ham were not.

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the initiations before Gwiyap. Mar, however, was a markedly fearful person, whereas Gwiyap was more courageous; Mar had not dared have sexual relations even with his betrothed, whereas Gwiyap had made half a dozen conquests. Mar was clumsy and lazy, whereas Gwiyap was an efficient and hard worker. Mar was, however, still dominant and Gwiyap usually obeyed his commands, although he sometimes refused to do so. Mar did not back up his commands by physical attack when Gwiyap disobeyed him. Gwiyap less frequently commanded Mar and when he did so, the latter sometimes obeyed and sometimes refused to obey him. In particular, Gwiyap gained an advantage over Mar by criticizing the latter when, because of his timidity and awkwardness, he did not measure up to the behavior expected of an adolescent Kwoma. The most noticeable thing about the struggle for dominance between the two boys was that they never resorted to physical violence. Indeed, no case of a fight between adolescent *brothers* came to my attention. Although it cannot be assumed that fights do not occur, it is true that the sanctions against fighting between *brothers* increase as they become physiologically mature. Children, being smaller, are not as likely to injure one another seriously as are adolescents. The sanctions against injury which begin to operate during childhood are increased in respect to adolescents, presumably so that the power of the in-group may be maintained.

The following conflict between Mar and Gwiyap indicates the subtlety of aggression between adolescents as compared to similar behavior between children. One morning Gwiyap was roasting a breadfruit. When it was done, Mar came up and began to help himself. Gwiyap told him that if he wanted something to eat he should cook it for himself. Mar replied that there was plenty for him, too. Gwiyap insisted angrily that Mar eat no more of the breadfruit, but Mar did not heed. Gwiyap then became insulting, and Mar returned the insults. Gwiyap's final response was to get up and leave the fire around which they were squatting and to refuse to eat any more himself. Mar, apparently guilty about what he had

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done, called to Gwiyap to come back, and promised not to eat any more. Gwiyap refused either to return or to answer and avoided Mar for the rest of the day. He spoke insultingly of Mar when I questioned him about the event.

882 593 602 865

An adolescent boy continues to behave toward his parents and his *paternal uncles* and *aunts* as he did in childhood. He obeys their commands, lies to them when they accuse him of wrongdoing, and is secretive in doing things that he expects them to punish. If he is aggressive toward them, it usually takes the form of disobedience or grumbling. Occasionally he may talk back to them and sometimes even attack them. Informants reported the case of an adolescent boy who had speared and killed his father a few years before my arrival. He had fled after he had committed this crime and was still living in a neighboring tribe.[28]

882 835 602 578 152

The *sisters* of an adolescent boy constitute a sexual temptation to him, since they are the most available sexually mature, unmarried women in the tribe and live in the same hamlet. If he philanders with them, he does so in the face of negative sanctions and of fear of punishment from their *brothers* if he is caught. Even if he dare not have sex relations with them, they nevertheless may evoke in him the desire to do so, and thus produce emotional conflict. To avoid their presence might be the adaptive response under the circumstances, but the necessities of common living and the economic coöperation between *brother* and *sister* militate against this solution. The alternative response of aggression to the frustration which they produce would be dangerous to in-group solidarity and has, furthermore, been strongly punished during childhood. Kwoma culture provides the boy with a solution to this dilemma in the form of a socially permitted joking relationship. This consists of license to exchange insults of a sexual character, mostly mutual accusations of breaking sexual taboos, particularly those of incest.

[682]

[28] No drastic sanctions are imposed against patricide since the father has no relatives closer than his son to avenge him. Such an act is considered "unnatural," however, and the murderer is shunned. This was probably the reason for the person cited above leaving the tribe.

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in shouted choruses while they dance. The men of prestige sing the verses. One man will sing as many verses as he can either remember or compose and then announce that he is through by repeating the chorus, when another man continues. When no one can think of any more verses, the group dances silently until someone starts a new song. The man who can remember the most verses or who is most adept at improvising them gains considerable prestige.

Novices are not permitted to play the flutes during a ceremony, as this requires considerable skill. A pair of those who have learned one of these complicated melodies as a result of long, guided practice at the bush house are called upon to play the flutes when the ceremony calls for them. They stand facing one another each with a flute cradled over the left arm. One plays the big "male" flute, a large bamboo about seven feet long, and the other plays a "female" flute, slightly shorter and of smaller diameter.[27] Since these instruments have no stops and are therefore capable of producing only a few notes, the melodies are arranged so that the two flutes are played in series, thus permitting double the range of variation that would be possible if they were played in unison. This necessitates close coöperation between the two players, which apparently requires a great deal of practice to accomplish, and those who master it are rewarded with high praise.

The man of Rumbima hamlet who had gained most renown in the cult ceremonies was War. He could dance tirelessly though not brilliantly, he could lead a gong chorus, he was a skilled wood carver, and he could compete with anyone in the subtribe in remembering the verses of songs. The other men of Rumbima did not vie much with War, but put him forward as their champion against the high-ranking men of other hamlets. When a ceremony was given at Rumbima, it would be War who would arrange and direct it.

Even after a man has experienced the whole gamut of initiation rites, he still avoids the dwelling places of *marsalai*

[27] The "male" flute is about three inches in diameter; the "female," about two.

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maternal uncle, her ***paternal aunt***, her ***sisters***, and her ***friends***. 602 [628]

Despite the ties which a man has with various kinsmen, the great majority of the members of the other sibs of the subtribe are not related to him. Nevertheless, he is united to them by common interests and participates with them in common enterprises, not so frequently nor so intimately as with relatives but still enough to weld the subtribe into an integrated unit. Cult, age-grade, and initiation ceremonies are the concern of the whole subtribe, not of a hamlet or even of a sib. Head-hunting raids, intertribal and intratribal court meetings, and the building of a house tamberan all entail the coöperative endeavors of non-relatives[46] as well as relatives. Finally, the members of a subtribe call themselves by a common name, and a Hongwam will support a Hongwam against members of the other Kwoma subtribes. 609 619

Despite the bonds which unite the unrelated members of a subtribe, considerable antagonism and suspicion is the rule between non-relatives. Fear of sorcery is ever present between them. They do not eat with one another, and when they visit or meet they do so guardedly, exercising great care not to leave anything behind which could be used for sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes ill it is usually a non-relative who is first suspected. 609 578 754 [574]

A man must be aggressive if he is threatened by a non-relative, lest he be criticized by his own relatives, but he may not be overaggressive lest he give the non-relative good cause for serious counteraggression. I personally felt the application of the sanction against not being aggressive enough. Shortly before the end of my field work, a young man from one of the other sibs pilfered my last tin of tobacco. I complained about it to Gwiyap and Mar. They had no sympathy for me. They said that it was all my fault for letting people from other hamlets wander around my house. Shortly afterwards, War came in and I told him what had happened. He gave me a sound scolding: "You are a little-baby. Don't 609 156 578 123

[46] The term "non-relative" is used here to apply to all persons in the subtribe not addressed by a kinship term.

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609 578 [156] [123] you know enough to keep non-relatives out of your house? No one is going to keep these people from stealing from you if you are afraid to protect your own rights."

Although a man must be aggressive when he is threatened by a non-relative, he must not be disproportionately so. In general, the amount of aggression he may show is determined [685] by the kind and amount of threat that he has endured. If he catches a non-relative in the act of stealing or trespassing, he may beat him on the spot or threaten him with a spear, but may not kill him. If he discovers the crime after it is done, he may threaten physical violence unless reparations are [692] made. If the thief or trespasser refuses to comply with these demands, a court session is held in which the principals meet with their relatives and discuss the matter until an equitable [683] settlement is made. If a man detects a non-relative stealing [684] sorcery material, or raping a wife or sister, he may kill him on the spot. If he discovers that a non-relative is having an affair with his wife or sister, he may threaten or beat him but may not kill him. Following this he may retaliate by seducing [626] a sister or wife of the man whom he has discovered. If a man suspects a non-relative of sorcery, he may openly accuse him and turn public opinion against him in order to make him stop. If it is well established that a non-relative has been guilty of sorcery, the victim or his relative is not condemned for retaliating in kind.

609 578 626 A man is inhibited from being disproportionately aggressive toward a non-relative by a complex of sanctions. In any controversy between two unrelated members of the tribe, three groups appear: the relatives of the aggressor, the relatives of the victim, and those who are related to neither. If the behavior of the aggressor is deemed appropriate, he will be supported in his action by his own relatives and by the group related to neither principal. Furthermore, although his relatives will support the victim and will verbally threaten and insult the aggressor and his relatives, they will take no physical step toward counteraggression. Then, too, there are always persons among the relatives of the victim who are related to someone in the aggressor group, and who therefore

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havior of a relative. The case of War and Gwiyap will serve to illustrate how this technique operates. Gwiyap had for some time been taking sago flour from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, discovered this and told him to stop. He explained that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap. Gwiyap chose to argue this point and tried to maintain his claim, whereupon War threatened to break relations with him. In response to this threat Gwiyap turned over the privilege to War and paid him for the sago he had already taken.

In the above case the drive was fear of a broken relationship with War;[26] the response was giving up the privilege, paying War, and getting sago from another plot; the cues were War's words and the knowledge of having taken sago from Payap's plot; the reward was reduction of the fear of a broken relationship. Thus Gwiyap learned to behave correctly with respect to his kinship privileges and to heed the threats of his relatives. The fear of sorcery and of other retaliatory measures tends similarly to maintain correct social behavior. Theft, trespass, and breaking sex mores or rules inhibiting aggression, result in threats from those who suffer from these deviations from custom, whereas right behavior is continually reinforced by the reduction of fear implied by these threats.[27]

The fourth technique which teachers may use to motivate their pupils is to warn them. A warning is similar to a threat except that the source of the specified pain is some person or some event in the natural environment other than the teacher. A warning normally consists of two elements: a specification of the danger and its source, and instructions for escape from or avoidance of the danger. If the danger is imminent, the teacher normally introduces a warning by a sharp ejaculation—either *e ye!* (no!) or *sa!*, an expletive to call attention.

[26] As previously noted, a broken relationship involves removing the taboo which is implied by a safe kin relationship, and the loss of cooperation and support.

[27] A much more elaborate analysis of the relationship between threats and social control might be profitably made, but it is not within the scope of this chapter to do so.

574 476 [501] [252] April 4, 1937. Namb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and fourteen men responded from Wenyambankura and Hayamakwa. They came about 1:00. Namb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago. Awa and Kwiya boiled sago, and War had his family make soup. This was not expected by Namb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness. The feast was being held at Hayamakwa, and he wanted to help. I [156] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his prestige. The [262] first course was soup. Mar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Namb had killed a gourie pigeon [123] and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a [262] tin of dry peaches which Owiyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it [137] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the [262] whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked.

[521] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dozed, [276] and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was [522] a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Marck, Mar and May. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitels.

241 April 5, 1937. Mar, Fit, Chinuwe, Kwiya, Fumba, Yowe, and Daw went to the garden. They left about dawn. Mar and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

123 enforce the taboo myself, as no one would listen to them. Mar suggested
685 I go down to the house tamberan and tell this to all the men there. We
123 went down, but there was no one there. I came back and told Wof. He let
156 out a tirade--the general idea of which was that I was an impotent fool not to kick everyone out of the house, that I was afraid of them, that I ought to fight them, and that it was my own fault if I lost something. Mar called out from the house tamberan, and the conversation was repeated. Mar said little and agreed that I ought to taboo the house. When I said that it was not my custom to fight everyone, he said I was a handombas yikafa
[554] (a weak child). The attitude of all of them seems to be that you are respected if you beat up anyone who imposes on anyone except yourself. That is, you do not admire someone who beats you up as much as you admire someone who beats someone else up. In this case you are disliked but still respected.
[554] To really be a big man one must have killed someone and be feared for sor-
754 cery. A man who beats his wife and children is respected, and only disapproved
[593] of by those who receive the beatings, or by others if he does it to excess. In the latter case, it is still his business except that his wife's brothers
123 may retaliate. They also said when I decided to taboo the house that I
156 would forget it tomorrow, that I had always done so before, and that it was not good to be that way. They referred to the times when I have been angry with Haub and Hamaingamp for overstaying their leaves and said I would be cross with them when they came back, but forgave them.

123 The interesting thing about these criticisms of me is that despite my rationalizations about getting confidence by kindness, they are perfectly true. I can't beat somebody up in cold blood. Not that I feel I could not do it to anyone here, but I had some vague anxiety that there might be

123 some sort of fearful retaliation. I can't quite sense it. It comes to
156 consciousness in a feeling that I won't be liked, and I have an over-
[626] whelming desire to be liked by everyone. This sanction of the mores by direct physical punishment is also quite foreign to me in a cultural sense, and it is very difficult for me to accept it in this as well as the unconscious psychological sense. This is a point on personality and culture or the personality of culture.

123 I sat around at the house tamberan for a while. Wof came down. Mar,
726 Mas, Gwiyap and May were there. War began talking to Mas in a low tone. He said something about my musket and Yelegu. I guessed what it was, and later Gwiyap told me that War was suggesting that May get the musket and go with him and wipe out the Yelegu people. Mas and Mar reacted to this by getting very excited and dancing up and down in the house tamberan. In the middle of this talk Chinuwa called out that there was somebody in my house stealing something. The house boys and I ran up, but it turned out to be a dog and Chinuwa's imagination. I told Gwiyap and Mar that this musket business could not be, for word would get to the police about it, and I would be hanged along with the rest of them. If War wanted to shoot them with a spear, it was his business.

126 April 14, 1937. This morning Yafomongwia, Kwalump, Ambs, Evelas, and
721 War came up ornamented, and I took a picture. Kwalump and Kwonai asked me
726 whether I would tell the police if they went on a head-hunting raid. I
[123] told them no, that it was their business. May told me that the time was set for tomorrow morning, that they were making soup now. Men were going by the house all morning to pull Marok's canoe. In the afternoon they came back and feasted at Rumbima. Awa visited in the afternoon, and I got some information from him. He said he did not want to eat with the others

Chapter III

Case History- MAR

115 Mar is a tall and gangling lad of about 18 or 19 with a heavy moronic face. He gives the impression of not being very bright. He lives with his brothers and sisters in the house nearest mine while his mother lives in another a few feet away. She is an old woman, crippled so that she cannot walk, but with a keen awareness of what is going on and a sharp tongue. With her lives Yawe who is Mar's fiancee. [583] It is the custom for a girl to live with the family of her husband for several months before marriage. Yawe gives the appearance of being rather lazy and sullen.

Mar often comes to the house and is helpful in working with the language because of his patience but not because he can grasp a new idea very well. If he asks for something, one word of refusal is enough.--though in time this changed. Although unsatisfactory as an informant in many cases, he gave us the list of pronouns in the language very readily and with little prodding.

A joke is much funnier to Mar than to others. He harps back to something that has amused him long after the juice of the situation has been extracted by Gwiyap and May.

He seemed embarrassed because he did not attend the Minjama yam cult ceremony, and the reason was that most boys of his age are already members of both Yenama and Minjama, while he is only a member of the former. [156]

October 24, 1936:

124 Yesterday we were asking Mar his genealogy. He said that he was engaged but that his fiancee was not good so he was going to get another one. He said she was not strong and didn't work well. We have taken him on to help Bamb and Wisep, our non-Kwoma houseboys, by fetching water and firewood. He seems to be glad to do it. We sealed the bargain with a pipe and "lap lap." [114]

*115 787 602 753 completely recovered. I told him that I had left a bag of salt at the foot of the moutain, and that he could get it tomorrow if he felt well enough. He wanted to know why he should wait until tomorrow, and left then to get it, which is a hard job for anyone in perfect health.

April 13, 1937.

*115 [754] When Mar, Afok , Pokotay, Dawengi and Yat went to blow flutes, Mar and Mes decided to go. They said they were afraid of being sorcerised and had to work--get firewood and wash sago.

April 14, 1937.

*115 156 [648] The men of the village are planning to start on a headhunting raid on a neighboring tribe. I asked Mar if he were going with them and he said, "No, I am afraid of the white government and I don't want to be hung. I know I am like a woman for not going, but never mind. I'm no man. I'm a woman, that's all. I'll be a woman all my life. Never mind. I'll never be able to paint my face black like the men who have taken a head, but never mind." He almost wept while delivering this speech and seemed as though he were making a great sacrifice by deciding not to go. Both he and Mes asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble.

[123]

April 15, 1937.

*115 584 [123] Again Mar has said he has made an arrangement with Mbwimbwi, Gwanta and Pamba to get Mes' sister, Aya, to go to a certain place to catch fish. Mar will meet them there and take Aya to his garden house. He doesn't want me to tell Mes and thinks I should protect him again Mar if he makes a fuss--to say that it was Aya's idea.

*115 582 After supper Yat, Mar's uncle, began shouting at him. He told Mar it was not good to marry someone from one's own sib because their blood would